

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 IO-03 ISO-00 NSC-06 SS-07 AID-01 /025 W

----- 040872

R 221800Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9321

INFO US MISSION GENEVA 222

AMEBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 5 DAR ES SALAAM 4003/1

GENEVA PASS TO AMBASSADOR CARTER

LUSAKA PASS TO CODEL CLARK

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OREP (CLARK, DICK)

SUBJ: CODEL CLARK: PRESS CONFERENCE

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 3048

REMAINDER TRANSCRIPT CODEL CLARK PRESS CONFERENCE IN DAR 8/20.

SENATOR CLARK: WE ARE TRYING TO CENTER MORE INTEREST ON THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICA, PARTICULARLY IN OUR COMMITTEE THIS YEAR WE ARE LOOKING CAREFULLY AT THE PROBLEMS IN SOUTH AFRICA. OF COURSE THERE IS NO BETTER WAY TO LEARN ABOUT THOSE PROBLEMS THAN TO COME HERE AND TO TALK TO THE PEOPLE WHO KNOW MOST ABOUT THEM, AND TO REVIEW FOR OURSELVES EVEN IN A BRIEF WAY THE KINDS OF UNIQUE SITUATIONS AND PROBLEMS THAT YOU HAVE. AND SO THAT'S WHY WE ARE HERE REALLY JUST TO LISTEN AND TO LOOK AND TO LEARN, TO GET JUDGEMENTS FROM PEOPLE WHOSE

OPINION WE RESPECT, AND ONE OF THOSE PEOPLE CLEARLY IS THE PRESIDENT OF

TANZANIA AND AS I THINK YOU KNOW WE MET WITH HIM YESTERDAY AND DISCUSSED AT LENGTH THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA.

I WAS VERY INTERESTED IN SOME OF HIS COMMENTS ON AFRICAN

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UNITY GENERALLY. SO THAT'S REALLY THE PURPOSE OF THE TRIP AND

WITH THAT LET'S JUST OPEN IT TO QUESTIONS OF ANY KIND THAT YOU MAY HAVE.

QUESTION: IN YOUR DISCUSSION WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE ON ANGOLA, WHAT DID YOU COME UP TO AS FAR AS SOLVING THE SITUATION THERE IS CONCERNED?

ANSWER: WELL, I THINK THE PRESIDENT HAS ON MANY OCCASIONS BEFORE EXPRESSED THE FEELING THAT THE ONLY REAL SOLUTION TO THAT PROBLEM IS TO FIND A WAY FOR THE THREE MOVEMENTS TO COALESCE AND TO AGREE UPON A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. I THINK HE VERY RIGHTFULLY DOES NOT SEE THAT HAPPENING EASILY BECAUSE THE SPLIT HAS BECOME SO DEEP, AND THE MORE KILLING THAT OCCURS OF COURSE THE MORE DIFFICULT IT IS TO ARRIVE AT A PEACEFUL SITUATION. BUT ULTIMATELY THERE ISN'T ANY OTHER WAY, AND I CERTAINLY SHARE THAT VIEW. I DON'T KNOW OF ANYTHING WE CAN DO OTHER THAN TO CONTINUE TO TRY TO FIND SOME COMMON GROUND THERE. CERTAINLY I WOULD HOPE THAT OUR GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF SOVIET UNION, GOVERNMENT OF CHINA, WOULD TRY AS NON-AFRICAN POWERS TO FIND SOME COMMON GROUND TO AVOID SENDING ANY MORE ARMS SHIPMENTS THERE. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT'S THE ONLY WAY A CIVIL WAR IS GOING TO BE AVOIDED. I THINK MY OWN JUDGEMENT IS VERY CLOSE TO THAT OF PRESIDENT NYERERE AND THAT THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION IS SOME KIND OF COALITION OF THE THREE MOVEMENTS. NO ONE MOVEMENT IS STRONG ENOUGH TO UNIFY THE COUNTRY, AND NO ONE WANTS A PARTITION OF THE COUNTRY THAT I KNOW OF. AT ONE TIME ALL THREE GOVERNMENTS AGREED THEY DO NOT WANT PARTITION, THEY WANT UNITY. I THINK THE OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES FEEL EXACTLY THE SAME WAY.

QUESTION: AS FAR AS YOU KNOW ARE THERE ANY U.S. ARMS FINDING THEIR WAY INTO ANGOLA THROUGH ZAIRE?

ANSWER: I DON'T KNOW IF ANY BUT I AM NOT IN A POSITION TO MAKE THAT JUDGEMENT. IN OTHER WORDS THE UNITED STATES ARMS THAT ARE MADE IN U.S. AND ARE ACTUALLY PASSED ON TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AS AMERICAN ARMS, AM NOT AWARE OF ANY.

QUESTION: HAS THERE BEEN A DISCUSSION IN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, IS THERE A U.S. VIEW ABOUT THE POSSIBLE PARTITION OF ANGOLA?

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ANSWER: I AM NOT AWARE OF ANY AMERICAN OPINION THAT WOULD FAVOR THAT, I MUST SAY THAT I HAVE NEVER HEARD THAT EXPRESSED EITHER IN GOVERNMENT OR OUT OF GOVERNMENT THAT THAT WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA. I THINK IT'S THE ONE THING THAT ALMOST EVERYONE AGREES UPON THAT A FRACTURING OF THAT NATION WOULD NOT BE ADVISABLE AND THAT MEANS NOT ONLY WITH REGARDS TO THE THREE MOVEMENTS IN ANGOLA ITSELF BUT CABINDA AS WELL. I THINK THERE IS A COMMON FEELING THAT IF ANGOLA IS TO SURVIVE AS A ECONOMIC UNIT AND TO THRIVE, THAT CABINDA WOULD HAVE

TO BE A PART OF ANGOLA, AND THAT THE THREE MOVEMENTS THEMSELVES HAVE TO FIND SOME WAY TO UNITE. NO ONE OF THEM IS STRONG ENOUGH TO UNIFY THE COUNTRY, NOT ONLY MILITARILY STRONG ENOUGH, STRONG ENOUGH IN TERMS OF ALLEGIANCE FROM GOING BACK INTO THE ETHNIC OR TRIBAL BACK- GROUND.

QUESTION: THERE HAS BEEN A LOT OF DISCUSSION AND TALK ABOUT THE ROLE OF U.S. MULTI-NATION CORPORATIONS. IS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT MONITORING THE ACTIVITIES OF GULF OIL IN THIS CASE.

ANSWER: WELL I THINK THEY ARE, WE ASKED THAT SPECIFIC QUESTION. WE'RE HOLDING A SERIES OF, JUST COMPLETED A SERIES OF HEARINGS ON SOUTH AFRICA, AND CERTAINLY WE ASKED THE ADMINISTRATION, IN THIS CASE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY DAVIS, ABOUT THAT. HE ASSURED US THAT THEY ARE. THEY'RE VERY INTERESTED IN IT. THEY'RE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT IT. OBVIOUSLY GULF OIL HAS A VERY HEAVY INVESTMENT THERE, BUT THAT CERTAINLY SHOULD HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH MY JUDGEMENT, THAT SHOULD NOT BE A DETERMINING FACTOR IN TERMS OF OUR POLICIES IN ANGOLA. AND AFTER ALL OUR COUNTRY ISN'T CREATED FOR THE INTERESTS OF GULF OIL. ALTHOUGH WE OBVIOUSLY HAVE AN INTEREST IN ANY AMERICAN

INVESTMENTS ANYPLACE IN THE WORLD, THAT CLEARLY IS NOT A DETERMINING FACTOR IN OUR POLICY, AND WE'VE BEEN ASSURED AT LEAST BY THE ASSISTANT

SECRETARY FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS THAT IT IS NOT.

QUESTION: SENATOR CLARK, LET'S COME BACK TO TANZANIA. (QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CONCERNING AMBASSADOR CARTER WERE TRANSMITTED BY REFTEL).

QUESTION: SENATOR CLARK, I UNDERSTAND YOU ALSO SAW THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE HERE IN DAR ES SALAAM, WHAT DID YOU DISCUSS WITH THEM?

ANSWER: I REALLY WANTED TO GET A BETTER IDEA OF WHAT THEIR ACTIVITIES UNCLASSIFIED

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ARE, PARTICULARLY WHAT THEIR CURRENT ACTIVITIES ARE, ABOVE ALL IN SOUTH AFRICA, BUT REALLY ALL ACROSS THE CONTINENT, AND WE WENT AROUND THE CONTINENT. THEY DISCUSSED WITH ME SOME OF THEIR INTERESTS

, SOME OF THE THINGS THEY ARE DOING. I WAS INTERESTED IN WHAT THEY FELT ABOUT AMERICAN POLICY HERE IN RELATION TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. AS I SAID HERE LAST NIGHT TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER, OUR COUNTRY HAS A LONG HISTORY OF BASIC FREEDOMS THAT WE WORKED VERY HARD FOR 200 YEARS AGO, AND WE'RE INTERESTED IN THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF FREEDOM IN AFRICA AS WELL, AND WE'RE INTERESTED IN THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF FREEDOM IN AFRICA AS WELL, AND THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT IS CONCERNED ABOUT THAT SAME PROBLEM. SO WE TALKED ABOUT COMMON GOALS, ABOUT AMERICAN POLICY, HOW THAT AFFECTED VARIOUS LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE PAST AND THE PRESENT. THAT'S THE SORT OF THING, NOTHING MORE SPECIFIC THAN THAT REALLY.

QUESTION: WHAT IS YOUR RESPONSE TO MINISTER MALECELA'S STATMENT
LAST NIGHT?

ANSWER: COULD YOU BE MORE SPECIFIC, WE TALKED ABOUT SO MANY THING.

QUESTION: WELL HE SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS A DOUBLE STANDARD
IN AFRICA - IT VOTED AGAINST EXPELLING SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE UNITED
NATIONS, AND HE SAID YOU ARE AGAINST APARTHEID, YET YOU SEEM TO
SUPPORT SOUTH AFRICA.

ANSWER: LET ME SPEAK SPECIFICALLY TO THAT POINT. MY OWN FEELING
WOULD HAVE BEEN THAT WE SHOULD HAVE VOTED THE EXPULSION OF SOUTH
AFRICA SIMPLY ON THE PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSALITY IN THE UNITED NATIONS.
NOW OUR COUNTRY HAS NOT ALWAYS FOLLOWED A POLICY OF UNIVERSALITY,
WE OPPOSED THE ENTERING OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA INTO THE
U.S. AND ON SOME OTHER OCCASIONS. BUT MY OWN FEELING IS THAT
THAT PRINCIPLES OF UNIVERSALITY IN ALL OF THESE CASES SHOULD
PREVAIL. ON THE OTHER HAND I FELT THAT THE LAST VETO, WHICH DID

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9322

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AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

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NOT INVOLVE EXPULSION AT ALL, WE SHOULD NOT HAVE EXERCISED. SEEMS
TO ME THAT IF WE ARE GOING TO ARGUE FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE
PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICA THAT WE OUGHT TO BE PREPARED TO TAKE THOSE
PEACEFUL ACTIONS IN THE UNITED NATIONS PARTICULARLY, BECAUSE AFTER
ALL THE UNITED NATIONS HAS JURISDICTION OVER NAMIBIA. IT'S THE ONLY
PLACE IT CAN BE DONE, IN A PEACEFUL WAY, AS FAR AS I KNOW. I FELT
THAT THAT WAS A REASONABLE ACTION, AND IF WE AS A GOVERNMENT HAS
CERTAIN QUALMS ABOUT USING THE SO-CALLED SECTION 7, THEN WE WOULD

HAVE EXPRESSED THOSE AT THE TIME WE VOTED. WE DON'T ALWAYS HAVE TO AGREE 100 PER CENT WITH EVERY ASPECT OF EVERY VETOR WE EVER TAKE IN THE UNITED NATIONS. IF WE DID WE'D NEVER VOTE FOR ANTHING. SO TO THAT

DEGREE, AND AGAIN I OBVIOUSLY SPEAK ONLY FOR MYSELF, I DON'T FOR MY GOVERNMENT, OR FOR EVERYONE ON THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE OR FOR THE WHOLE SENATE.

QUESTION: ALSO ON SOUTH AFRICA, SINCE THE BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM THE

SIMONSTOWN NAVAL AGREEMENT, SOUTH AFRICA HAS BEEN LOOKING TO OTHER NATO COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, TO TRY TO FILL THAT GAP. DO YOU SEE ANY POSSIBILITY OF THIS HAPPENING?

ANSWER: NO I DON'T, NO I DON'T, AND GAIN WE WENT INTO THAT IN GREAT DETAIL IN OUR HEARINGS, WE HAD PEOPLE FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE THERE, HIGH OFFICIALS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, ASKED THEM

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THAT SAME QUESTION, WE WERE ASSURED ON THE RECORD, PUBLICLY, OVER AND OVER AGAIN, THAT WE HAD NO INTEREST WHATSOEVER IN GOING INTO SOUTH AFRICA MILITARILY, IN USING ANY OF THE PORTS, IN LIFTING THE EMBARGO

ON ARMS IN ANY WAY, AND I HAVE TO TAKE THAT AS OUR POLICY, AND I THINK IT IS OUR POLICY, AND I WOULD HOPE THAT IT WOULD CONTINUE TO BE OUR POLICY. I HAD A GOOD OPPORTUNITY YESTERDAY OF VISITING WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE. HE MENTIONED TO US HIS VISIT TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY IN 1963, AND OF COURSE OUT OF THAT VISIT CAME THE ARMS EMBARGO IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES AND IN SOUTH AFRICA. AND I THINK BASICALLY WE'VE LIVED UP TO THAT EMBARGO. THERE MAY BE HAVE BEEN TIMES WHEN WE DID NOT SCRUTINIZE SOME OF THE BUSINESS ARRANGMENTS THAT WERE MADE THERE AS WELL AS WE MIGHT HAVE, THERE HAVE BEEN SOME ALLEGATIONS WHICH I CANNOT SPEAK TO THE ACCURACY OF ABOUT THE PORTUGUESE HAVING BROUGHT DOWN SOME EQUIPMENT, BUT I THINK BASICALLY WE'VE DONE A GOOD JOB IN TERMS OF THAT ARMS EMBARGO, AND I'M CONFIDENT WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE THAT, WE HAVE TO. IT'S JUST NOT GOING TO MAKE ANY SENSE AT ALL IF WE DON'T. NOW UNFORTUNATELY IT APPEARS THAT WE ARE GOING TO GO AHEAD ON A TEMPORARY BASIS, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING, IN DIEGO GARCIA IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. I THINK THAT'S A MISTAKE. I VOTED AGAINST THAT, BUT THE SENATE APPROVED IT BY I THINK 10 VOTES TO GO AHEAD WITH SOME BARE BEGINNINGS THERE. AGAIN I SUPPORT THE IDEA THAT PRESIDENT NYERERE HAS EXPRESSED ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS OF HAVING A KIND OF FREEZE ZONE THERE. I THINK IT DOES NOT MAKE ANY SENSE FOR US TO START EXTENDING THE COLD WAR INTO THE INDIAN OCEAN. IT'S NOT IN THE INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES, IT'S NOT IN THE INTEREST I THINK OF THE SOVIET UNION, AND IT'S CERTAINLY NOT IN THE INTEREST OF AFRICA.

QUESTION: I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW JUST WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO FACT FIND IN SOUTH AFRICA.

ANSWER: WE'RE JUST GOING THERE OVERNIGHT, BUT WHAT IS OUR SCHEDULE THERE.... I THINK WE'RE MEETING WITH SOME PEOPLE (MOOSE RESPONDS-INAUDIBLE).

QUESTION: MR. SENATOR, DON'T SOME PEOPLE THINK IT'S HYPOCRITICAL OF YOUR GOVERNMENT TO OPPOSE ARMED STRUGGLE AS A MEANS OF LIBERATING AFRICA, WHEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WAS BORN THROUGH ARMED STRUGGLE?

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ANSWER: I'D LIKE TO BE VERY CAREFUL IN ANSWERING THIS, IN TERMS OF MY OWN VIEW ON IT. I WOULD WANT TO BE SURE THAT ANY USE OF ARMS, AND AGAIN I SPEAK ONLY FOR MYSELF, THAT ANY USE OF ARMS WOULD REALLY BE A LAST RESORT. NOW I DO NOT HAPPEN TO BE A PACIFIST. IF I WERE A PACIFIST I WOULD SAY THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES COULD YOU EVER USE ARMS, EVER. I'M NOT A PACIFIST, I'D LIKE TO BE, AND I THINK I'M VERY CLOSE TO THAT, BUT I WOULD HOPE THAT EVERY CONCEIVABLE PEACEFUL

MEANS WOULD BE USED SHORT OF ARMS. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS I WOULD NOT PERSONALLY RULE OUT ARMS. IF MY OWN FREEDOM WERE AT STAKE, IF IT MEANT NEVER REALIZING THOSE BASIC FREEDOMS, THEN IT SEEMS TO ME THAT

REAL LAST RECOURSE IS A POSSIBILITY, AND I WOULD NEVER RULE IT OUT, AS I TOLD YOU THAT OTHER DAY. BUT I WOULD WANT TO BE SURE THAT IT WAS A LAST RECOURSE. I THINK GENERALLY, I CAN'T SPEAK TO WHAT OUR GOVERNMENT'S POSITION IS IN THIS PARTICULAR CASE OR THAT PARTICULAR CASE, OBVIOUSLY THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY OF STATE CAN SPEAK TO THAT, BUT WE'VE USED ARMS OBVIOUSLY IN THE PAST, IN MANY PARTS

OF THE WORLD, NOT ONLY TO ACHIEVE OUR OWN FREEDOM? BUT IN MANY OTHER CASES. WE'RE NOT A PACIFIST COUNTRY. I THINK THE ONLY THING I'D WANT TO EMPHASIZE A THIRD TIME IS THAT IT'S NOT SOMETHING WE OUGHT TO TURN TO FIRST, UNTIL EVERY OTHER AVENUE IS EXPLORED. AND THAT'S WHY I THINK IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR AMERICAN POLICY TO PURSUE THOSE AVENUES OF PEACE. AND THERE ARE MANY OF THEM IN WHICH WE CAN BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR, WHETHER IT'S WITH REGARD TO SOUTH AFRICA IN THE CASE OF NAMIBIA OR RHODESIA OR ZIMBABWE, OR WHETHER IT IS IN OTHER CASE OF NAMIBIA OR RHODESIA OR ZIMBABWE, OR WHETHER IT IS IN OTHER CASES. THE CASE OF ANGOLA IT SEEMS TO ME IT'S THE SORT OF THING THE SO CALLED SUPER POWERS ARE INVOLVED IN, AND THAT AFTER ALL WE'RE WILLING TO TALK TO THE SOVIET

UNION ABOUT SALT AND MANY OTHER THINGS, FORTUNATELY I THINK THAT'S BEEN A VERY ADVISABLE POLICY, I'D SUPPORT PRESIDENT FORD AND PRESIDENT NIXON IN OUR EFFORTS IN THAT DIRECTION. I THINK THIS IS THE SORT

OF THING THAT WE CAN TALK TO THEM ABOUT. SO I WOULD HOPE THAT WE WILL REALLY PURSUE, NOT JUST SAY THAT WE FOLLOW A PEACEFUL POLICY AND THEN NOT DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT, BUT PURSUE THOSE PEACEFUL POLICIES WITH

VIGOR SO THAT WE CAN HONESTLY SAY THAT WE'VE DONE EVERYTHING IN OUR UNCLASSIFIED

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POWER SHORT OF THE USE OF FORCE, TO TRY TO ACHIEVE CERTAIN BASIC FREEDOM AND MAJORITY RULE, INDEPENDENCE IN AFRICA'S ANY DIFFERENT THAN THE REST OF THE WORLD IN THAT RESPECT. WE SHOULD FOLLOW THOSE POLICIES EVERYPLACE.

QUESTION: SENATOR, ON A QUESTION OF ALTERNATIVE METHODS, I UNDERSTAND THAT DURING THE TIME OF YOUR HEARINGS THAT YOU EXPRESSED FAVOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH INITIATIVE TO SUPPORT MOZAMBIQUE AS FAR AS RHODESIA IS CONCERNED. ARE YOU STILL IN FAVOR OF THAT POLICY?

ANSWER: I'M VERY MUCH IN FAVOUR OF IT.

QUESTION: TO UNDERFEED MOZAMBIQUE'S ECONOMY IF IT DECIDES TO PURSUE SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA?

ANSWER: THAT'S RIGHT, AND LET ME SAY THIS ABOUT THAT PARTICULAR ISSUE. I RAISED IT WITH ADMINISTRATION, IN THIS CASE WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY DAVIS, AND ON THIS GROUND THAT IF THE COMMONWEALTH WERE TO COME TO THE UNITED NATIONS, AS I SUSPECT THEY WILL, AND ASK FOR ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER COUNTRIES, REALLY JUST AS A REIMBURSEMENT SUFFERED FROM CUTTING OFF TRANSPORTATION INTO MOZAMBIQUE FROM RHODESIA, WHETHER WE'D BE PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE IN THAT. AND I MUST SAY THAT HIS ANSWER WAS NOT AS POSITIVE AS I WOULD HAVE LIKED, BUT IT CERTAINLY WAS NOT NEGATIVE. HE SAID THAT WE'VE NOT BEEN FACED WITH THAT PROBLEM, THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN BROUGHT UP, BUT THAT IT WOULD BE SOMETHING THAT THEY WOULD BE VERY WILLING TO CONSIDER. SO INTERPRET THAT TO MEAN THAT THAT IS A POSSIBILITY FOR OUR POLICY WITH REGARD TO MOZAMBIQUE. AND I THINK IT'S A WISE ONE. I THINK IT'S ONE OF THESE AREAS WHERE WE CAN MAKE A CONTRIBUTION IN A PEACEFUL WAY TO THE PROBLEMS OF THAT AREA, TO BRING PRESSURE IN EFFECT TO BEAR ON IAN SMITH TO BRING ABOUT MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA. WE'RE COMMITTED TO THAT IN PRINCIPLE. (#) GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO THAT IN PRINCIPLE. SO I THINK WE OUGHT TO TRY TO DO IT IN PRACTICE.

QUESTION: THE SENATE HAS ALREADY PASSED A REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT, BUT WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE HOUSE NOW?

NOTE BY OC/T: #OMISSION, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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AMEMBASY LUSAKA

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ANSWER: I'M NOT THE BEST JUDGE OF THAT BUT I KNOW THEY'VE HAD THEIR HEARINGS NOW. REPRESENTATIVE DON FRASER HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY ACTIVE IN THIS AREA. HE'S GOING TO BE ONE OF OUR DELEGATES TO THE UNITED NATIONS THIS YEAR, AND A VERY FINE PERSON, WHO HAS I THINK THE MOST SINCERE INTEREST IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD AS HIS ASSIGNMENT IN THE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE. SO I CAN'T PREDICT WHAT 435 INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE ARE GOING TO SAY. BUT I THINK WE'VE GOT A VERY GOOD CHANCE, BUT I WOULDN'T WANT TO SAY 50/50 OR 70/30, BECAUSE I JUST DON'T KNOW. BUT THEY'VE WORKED VERY HARD, THEY'VE HAD GOOD HEARINGS. I THINK WE'RE GOING TO GET A VOTE ON IT NEXT MONTH. NOW REMEMBER THAT IT DIES IN THEWE PASSED IT IN THE SENATE BUT THEN THE SESSION ENDED. I MEAN IN THE LAST SESSION OF THE CONGRESS, SO WE HAVE TO PASS IT AGAIN. BUT IT'S BEEN OUR FEELING THAT IF IT COULD GO TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FIRST, THAT IT WOULD HAVE ITS BEST CHANCE, AND SO WE'VE DONE THAT. THE HOUSE IS GOING TO VOTE ON IT FIRST, WE BELIEVE NEXT MONTH. IF THEY PASS IT, IT WILL COME TO THE SENATE. AGAIN THE PROBLEM IN THE SENATE, AND I'M CONFIDENT WE CAN PASS IT, THE PROBLEM IN THE SENATE, OF COURSE IS THAT WE HAVE UNLIMITED DEBATE, AND ANY AMENDMENT, ANY KIND OF LEGISLATION LIKE THE BYRD AMENDMENT, WILL BE FILIBUSTERED. AND THAT MEANS WE HAVE TO HAVE A TWO THIRDS MAJORITY TO SHUT OFF DEBATE, AND WE GOT THAT LAST TIME, AND I'M CONFIDENT WE'RE GOING TO GET IT AGAIN. WE'RE GOING TO NEED STRONG ADMINISTRATION SUPPORT. WE'RE NOT GOING

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TO GET TWO-THIRDS IN THE SENATE, WE'RE NOT GOING TO GET 50 PER CENT IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNLESS THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND OUR AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHERS, WORK VERY VERY HARD TO EXPLAIN AND DISCUSS WHY THIS POLICY HAS TO BE CHANGED. THEY HAVE ASSURED US ON MANY OCCASIONS BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO DO THAT.

QUESTION: I'VE HEARD IT SAID BY MANY AFRICANS THAT AFTER A WHILE IT WON'T MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE. IT WILL BE JUST LIKE FRANCE SAYING THEY ARE GOING TO HAVE AN ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA AFTER THEY HAVE DONE THE JOB. THEREFORE THE WHOLE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE UNITED STATES GETS ANY AMOUNT OF RESPECT DEPENDS NOW UPON THE URGENCY OF THIS MATTER.

ANSWER: WELL I THINK THAT'S RIGHT. I THINK IF WE DON'T DO IT THIS YEAR, IT'S GOING TO BE SUPERFLUOUS. IT ISN'T GOING TO MATTER, IT'S GOING TO BE TOO LATE. THAT'S WHY IT'S VERY IMPORTANT THAT WE GET A VOTE THIS NEXT MONTH. AND IF THIS MOVE AS QUICKLY THERE AS THEY OFTEN HAVE IN THE PAST IN AFRICA, IT WILL BE TOO LATE, PERHAPS ALMOST TOO LATE IN SEPTEMBER. NOW I DON'T KNOW, THAT SITUATION LOOKS DIFFICULT, AND IT MAY GO ON FOR MONTHS AND MONTHS AND PERHAPS EVEN YEARS. WE HOPE NOT. BUT I EXPECT IT TO MOVE RELATIVELY QUICKLY AND I WOULD HOPE THAT WE TAKE OUR ACTION JUST AS QUICKLY AS WE CAN, BECAUSE WE WANT TO GET 51 PER CENT OF THE VOTES, AND SO WE DON'T WANT TO MOVE UNTIL WE'VE GOT 51 PER CENT.

QUESTION: SENATOR, THE DRIFT OF YOUR VISIT SEEMS TO BE SEARCHING FOR POLICY GUIDELINES YET THE IMPRESSION I'VE GOT IS THAT IN AFRICA THEY THINK THE UNITED STATES JUST DOESN'T HAVE A POLICY TOWARD AFRICA, AND THAT THE POLICIES OF THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION ARE JUST SORT OF (INAUDIBLE). IS THERE GOING TO BE AN AMERICAN POLICY?

ANSWER: WELL I THINK THERE IS AN AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA, BUT THAT'S ALMOST A SEMANTIC KIND OF ANSWER I GUESS. IT'S LIKE SAYING DOES A COUNTRY HAVE A CULTURE, IT HAS A CULTURE OF SOME KIND, IT HAS A POLICY OF SOME KIND, BECAUSE IT ACTS. WHETHER IT'S A WELL-THOUGHT THROUGH CO-ORDINATED ACTION, WHETHER OR NOT AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD AFRICA HAS BEEN CAREFULLY THOUGHT THROUGH AND WHETHER THERE IS AN ASSESSMENT OF IT IN AND OF ITSELF, OR WHETHER IT TENDS TO BE THE TAIL OF THE DOG IN RELATION TO PROBLEMS OF THE COLD WAR,

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I THINK IS MUCH MORE DEBATABLE. I THINK AGAIN IT DEPENDS ON THE INDIVIDUAL CASE. TOO OFTEN IN THE PAST I THINK WE FOLLOWED TWO COURSES THAT I THINK HAVE LED US ASTRAY IN AFRICA. ONE OF THEM IS THAT IT SOMETIMES SIMPLY BECAUSE AN EXTENSION OF THE COLD WAR, AND I THINK THAT HELPS TO EXPLAIN OUR POLICY IN SUPPORT OF PORTUGAL, RATHER THAN ANY LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN MOZAMBIQUE OR ANGOLA. IN

OTHER CASES I THINK WE'VE SIMPLY TAKEN THE LEAD OF OTHER COLONIAL POWERS, OR FORMER COLONIAL POWERS LIKE GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE, ARE CONSTANTLY SEEKING OUT THEIR ADVICE AND LEADERSHIP ON THESE ISSUES. I'M NOT OPPOSED TO CONSULTATION ON THESE ISSUES. I THINK THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE NOT TO. BUT I THINK WE HAVE TO DECIDE OUR POLICIES FOR OURSELVES IN EACH OF THESE CASES. AND I THINK OVERALL WHAT'S HAPPENED IS THAT AMERICAN POLICY HAS BEEN NEGLECTFUL OF AFRICA

I'M NOT NAIVE ENOUGH TO BELIEVE THAT COMING HERE ON ONE VISIT IS GOING

TO CHANGE THAT. BUT I DO BELIEVE THAT OUR COMMITTEE, THE AFRICAN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, CAN MAKE A BEGINNING. WE HELD THE FIRST SUBSTANTIAL HEARINGS ON SOUTH AFRICA THAT HAVE EVER BEEN HELD IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, THROUGH THE SPRING AND SUMMER OF THIS YEAR. WE'RE GOING TO BE HOLDING A GREAT DEAL MORE. WE'RE GOING TO BEGIN TO TRY TO TALK MORE AND MORE TO PEOPLE IN THE CONGRESS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF AFRICA, ABOUT THE COMMON RELATIONSHIP THAT WE HAVE AS A LEASER IN 200 YEARS FROM THE FOUNDING OF OUR OWN COUNTRY, AND ALL THAT THAT MEANS, AND THIS IS A GOOD TIME TO DO IT OBVIOUSLY IN THE CELEBRATION OF OUR CENTENNIAL, AND TO TRY TO DEVELOP BETTER POLICIES HERE. SO I THINK IT'S A BARE BEGINNING.

I WOULDN'T WANT TO MAKE TOO MUCH OF ONE VISIT, BUT IT'S NOT JUST SIMPLY A LITTLE FORAY DOWN HERE TO VISIT WITH SOME PEOPLE AND LEAVE AND FORGET IT. WE INTEND TO PURSUE THIS WITH INTEREST AND WITH VIGOR WHEN WE GO BACK.

QUESTION: DO YOU THINK THE ADMINISTRATION WILL REACT AT ALL?

ANSWER: YES, I THINK THEY'LL REACT. IN A DEMOCRACY IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THAT KIND OF PARTICIPATION, NOT ONLY OF THE CONGRESS, BUT THE INTEREST INCREASINGLY OF THE MEDIA, TO THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICA, FORCES THIS ADMINISTRATION, OR ANY ADMINISTRATION, TO LOOK MORE CAREFULLY. IT'S REALLY ONLY WHEN FEET ARE PUT TO THE FIRE THAT PEOPLE

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DO PAY ATTENTION OFTEN....IT'S A BIG WORLD AND MANY THINGS TO GATHER THEIR ATTENTION, CALL THEIR ATTENTION, AND WE THINK AFRICA OUGHT TO BE ONE OF THEM. IT OUGHT NOT TO BE JUST THE TAIL OF THE DOG.

QUESTION: ARE YOU STILL GOING TO ANGOLA?

ANSWER: PLAN TO, YES.

QUESTION: DO YOU THINK YOU WILL MEET ANYONE THERE?

ANSWER: THE HOPE IS THAT WE WOULD MEET AGOSTINHO NETO,

ROBERTO AND SAVIMBI, ALL THREE...WE'RE GOING TO KINSHASA AS WELL.

QUESTION: TO TRY TO CONVINCE THEM TO COALESCE OR WHAT?

ANSWER: OH NO. IT'S ONLY REALLY TO LISTEN TO EACH OTHER, TO HEAR THEIR POINT OF VIEW. IT'S REALLY JUST TO LISTEN AND TRY TO LEARN, THAT'S ALL. WE'RE NOT IN A POSITION TO MAKE POLICY OR TO DETERMINE ANYTHING OF THAT KIND.

QUESTION: YOU AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF A SECTION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, YOU ARE IN A POSITION TO INFLUENCE SOME SORT OF SOLUTION IN ANGOLA. I'M SAYING THIS BECAUSE SOME OF US BELIEVE THIS PROBLEM IS MADE WHAT IT IS BECAUSE OF BIG POWER INTERPLAY IN ANGOLA.

ANSWER: WELL I'M NOT GOING TO HAVE ANY HESITANCE IN TELLING MR. ROBERTO OR MR. SAVIMBI OR MR. NETO WHAT MY VIEWS ARE ON IT, NAMELY THAT WE OUGHT TO FOLLOW A POLICY OF STRICT NON-INTERVENTION IN THE AFFAIRS OF ANGOLA, AND THAT WE OUGHT TO BE PREPARED TO RECOGNIZE THE PARTY OR PARTIES WHO EMERGE THERE AS THE LEADERS OF THAT GOVERNMENT. THAT'S MY FEELING, I DON'T HAVE AN HESITANCY IN SAYING IT, BUT I'M NOT IN A POSITION OBVIOUSLY TO NEGOTIATE OR DISCUSS COMMON GROUND OR ANYTHING OF THAT KIND. I JUST DON'T HAVE THE AUTHORITY, THE JURISDICTION TO DO THAT.

QUESTION: MR. SENATOR, IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SUPER POWERS, IS THERE ANY REAL POSSIBILITY OF INFLUENCING THE MAJOR POWERS THAT WHO HAVE SO FAR BEEN INVOLVED TO
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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 IO-03 ISO-00 AID-01 SS-07 NSC-06 /025 W

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R 221805Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9324
INFO US MISSION GENEVA 225
AMEBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

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ANSWER: WELL I DON'T KNOW WHY, I DON'T KNOW WHY THEY SHOULDN'T BE.
WE'VE DEVELOPED I THINK A CAREFUL, ALTHOUGH VERY SLOW,
RELATIONSHIP IN TERMS OF WHAT WE CALL DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION
AND REALLY WITH CHINA AS WELL. AFTER ALL WE DON'T HAVE TABOOS ABOUT
WHAT WE CAN BRING UP WITH ONE ANOTHER AND WHERE WE CAN HOLD DIS-
CUSSIONS WITH ONE ANOTHER. I SEE NO REASON WHY WE COULDN'T DISCUSS
THAT.
IT SEEMS TO ME IT'S THE INTEREST OF ALL THE POWERS THEMSELVES TO DO
THAT.

QUESTION: WILL YOU BE TELLING THEM ANTHING MORE THAN AN EXPLANATION
OF YOUR EFFORTS TO GET A REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMDNDMENT?

ANSWER: MY HOPE IS TO LEARN, BUT NOTHING OF ANY NEWSWORTHINESS,
I'M SURE.

QUESTION: MR. SENATOR, UP TO NOW MOZAMBIQUE HAS NOT EXHANGED
AMBASSADORS WITH THE U.S., LIKE OTHER MAJOR WESTERN POWERS, IS THE
UNITED STATES A BIT WORRIED ABOUT THAT?

ANSWER: IT'S DIFFICULT FOR ME TO INTERPRET FOR THE UNITED STATES OR
FOR MY GOVERNMENT, BUT LET ME SAY A COUPLE OF THINGS ABOUT IT.
FIRST OF ALL I THINK IT'S UNDERSTANDABLE THAT FRELIMO HAS SOME RELU-
CTANCE ABOUT A IMMEDIATE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES IN VIEW
OF OUR PAST AND LONG SUPPORT OF PORTUGAL. NOW WE'VE MAINTAINED AN
ARMSEMBARGO IN THESE FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONIES, BUT NEVERTHELESS
IT'S QUITE CLEAR I THINK THAT WE OPTED FOR THE SIDE OF PORTUGAL
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RATHER THAN FOR THE SIDE OF FRELIMO. BECAUSE OF THAT THERE IS A STRONG
RELATIONSHIP THERE. I'M HOPEFUL THAT AS TIME PASSES THAT THAT WILL
CHANGE, AND I HOPE THAT WE'RE GOING TO HAVE AN AMBASSADOR THERE.
I'M CERTAIN IN DISCUSSING THIS WITH OUR ADMINISTRATION THAT THEY
ARE PREPARED TO OFFER ASSISTANCE, TO RECOGNIZE THE GOVERNMENT OF
MOZAMBIQUE, TO HAVE AN AMBASSADOR THERE. ALTHOUGH OUR POLICIES THERE,
ANY KIND OF POSITIVE, FORTHCOMING POLICY MAY BE RATHER LATE IN COMING,
IT'S MUCH BETTER LATE THAT NEVER, AND SO I'M HOPEFUL THAT AS TIME
PASSES, AND FRELIMO COMES TO HAVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT I
BELIEVE IS OUR CHANGED POLICY, THAT WE WILL DEVELOP BETTER

RELATIONSHIPS THERE. I HOPE SO.

QUESTION: IS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT REPRESENTED THERE AT ALL NOW?

ANSWER: NOT OFFICIALLY. I THINK WE STILL HAVE SOME PEOPLE THERE IN THE CONSULATE. I'M NOT SURE OF THAT, BUT NO ONE OFFICIALLY. BUT YOU KNOW THIS TRANSITION IN GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN PLACE ONLY VERY RECENTLY, IN JUNE, AND THEY HAVE TREMENDOUS AMOUNT OF WORK TO DO, OBVIOUSLY, THE NEW GOVERNMENT. IT IS NOT SOMETHING THAT WE SOUGHT TO EXPECT TO OCCUR IN A DAY OR A WEEK OR A MONTH. IT'S GOING TO TAKE SOME TIME, SO I WOULDN'T BE IMPATIENT ABOUT IT AT ALL.

QUESTION: LAST YEAR A DOCUMENT CAME TO PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE, NATIONAL SECURITY MEMORANDUM THAT IS COMMONLY CALLED TAR BABY WHICH ADVOCATED THE UNITED STATES TAKE A LOW PROFILE POSITION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA BUT SAYING THAT U.S. INTERESTS WERE WITH WHITE MINORITY

REGIMES. IS THIS DOCUMENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CURRENT U.S. POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA?

ANSWER: WELL I DON'T KNOW. I'VE THOUGHT A GREAT DEAL ABOUT IT. I'VE READ THE DOCUMENT. WE'VE ASKED A LOT OF PEOPLE'S OPINIONS ABOUT

IT IN HEARINGS. OF COURSE THERE WERE SEVERAL RECOMMENDATIONS MADE IN THE DOCUMENT. IT'S AN INTERNAL DOCUMENT AS YOU KNOW. IT'S HARD TO GENERALIZE. IT'S AN INTERESTING DOCUMENT, AND IT IS INTERESTING TO SPECULATE WHETHER OR NOT ONE OF THOSE OPTIONS HAS IN UNCLASSIFIED

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FACT BECAME OUR POLICY. BUT I DON'T THINK IT'S NECESSARILY EASY TO GENERALIZE IN THAT. IT'S MORE HELPFUL AND MORE USEFUL TO LOOK AT INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES....RATHER THAN NECESSARILY RELATING IT TO THAT MEMORANDUM. HOWEVER I MUST SAY ONE IS TEMPTED TO GENERALIZE IN THAT WAY AND SAY THAT WAS IT OPTION TWO THAT WAS REALLY FOLLOWED. BUT I SUSPECT THAT POLICIES ARE NEVER MADE IN QUITE THAT THEORETICAL A MANNER, THAT THEY ARE OFTEN LOOKING AT EACH INDIVIDUAL CASE AS IT COMES UP. IT'S NOT A VERY GOOD ANSWER BUT THAT'S MY FEELING.

QUESTION: INAUDIBLE. (QUESTIONER ASKED WHETHER COMMITTEE WOULD DEAL WITH SOUTHERN AFRICA ONLY, OR OTHER COUNTRIES AS WELL).

ANSWER: (INAUDIBLE)... THESE WERE THE FIRST HEARINGS. WE FELT THAT THE MOST INTERESTING AND THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF AFRICA NOW IS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THAT'S WHERE THE GREATEST PROBLEMS ARE. BUT YES, WE'RE GOING TO BE INTERESTED IN THE WHOLE CONTINENT. WE DO NOT ACTUALLY HAVE JURISDICTION OVER THE NORTHERN TIER OF COUNTRIES FROM MOROCCO ON...THAT FALLS UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST COMMITTEE.

QUESTION: WHAT ABOUT EHTIOPIA, DOES THAT COMEUNDER YOUR PURVIEW?

ANSWER: YES.

QUESTION: ANY STATEMENT OF U.S. POLICY TOWARDS ETHIOPIA SINCE THE EMPEROR WAS REPLACED?

ANSWER: YES I AM SURE THERE HAS, BEEN BUT I AM NOT IN THE BEST POSITIONTO REPRESENT THAT. I THINK ABOUT THE ONLY ACTION THAT HAS OCCURED IN THE LAST YEAR IS THAT WE DID APPROVE A SALE OR GRANT OF SOME 20 OR 25 MILLION DOLLARS IN ARMS SHIPMENTS WITH ETHIOPIA. THAT IS ABOUT THE ONLY ACTIVITY THAT I AM AWARE OF THAT WE'VE PARTICIPATED IN. I THINK IT WAS CREDIT FOR SALES.

QUESTION: ARE YOU CONVINCED THAT THERE IS THIS RUSSIAN MISSILE BASE IN SOMALIA?

ASNWER: I THINK THERE IS. THE QUESTION IS WHAT DOES IT MEAN. I'VE LOOKED AT THE PHOTOGRAPH AND SO FORTH. THE PROBLEM IS TO SEE THESE THINGS IN ANY REAL PERSPECTIVE. THE ONLY THING THAT I THINK WE'RE UNCLASSIFIED

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SURE OF IS THESE VERY SMALL MISSILE, WHICH HAVE A RANGE OF ABOUT 22 MILES OR SOMETHING LIKE THAT, EXIST. THE PROBLEM IS THAT THESE THINGS GET SO BLOWN OUT OF PROPORTION THAT MUCH OF THE DISCUSSION NOW IS WHETHER OR NOT TO COMPARE IT WITH THE CUBAN BASES. WELL THAT'S A DIFFERENT THING ENTIRELY. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THERE IS A SOVIET NAVAL...THERE IS NO QUESTION BUT WHAT SOVIET SHIPS GO THERE AND USE THOSE PORTS. NO ONE DENIES THAT, AND THAT THERE IS A BARRACKS SHIPS THERE, AND THAT THERE ARE AT LEAST SOME PRIMITIVE MISSILE INSTALLATION THERE. BUT THE EXISTENCE OF THAT PARTICULAR FACILITY DOES NOT TO ME MEAN THAT WE HAVE TO OPEN UP THE WHOLE INDIAN OCEAN. CERTAINLY NOT WITHOUT TRYING VERY, VERY HARD TO NEGOTIATE WITH SOVIET UNION TO AVOIDTHAT. THAT'S OUR CENTRAL POINT, REALLY, MANY OF US WHO ARGUED THAT SIDE OF THE ISSUE. LET US MAKE A SINCERE EFFORT LET'S NOT JUST START BUILDING BASES AND THEN TRY TO NEGOTIATE THEM AWAY. LET'S MAKE A SINCERE EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE BEFORE WE START THIS NEW STEP IN ESCALATION. IF THAT FAILS, WE CAN ALWAYS GO IN THAT DIRECTION. I DON'T HAPPEN TO BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED STATES CAN UNILATERALLY DISARM, ANYMORE THAN THE SOVIET UNION CAN UNILATERALLY DISARM. IT'S SOMETHING WE'VE GOT TO DO TOGETHER. WE'VE MADE SOME PROGRESS IN TERMS OF DETENTE. WE HAVE NOT MADE ANY PROGRESS IN TERMS OF ARMS CONTROL. NONE AT ALL. WE'RE BOTH ESCALATING AT A FASTER PACE THAN EVER BEFORE. THE INDIAN OCEAN IS JUST ONE EXAMPLE OF THAT.

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ACTION H-03

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R 221810Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9325

INFO US MISSION GENEVA 226

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

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QUESTION: IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE UNITED STATES IS VERY WORRIED ABOUT THE MINORITY ROLE IN THE UNITED NATIONS, TO THE EXTENT THAT IT HAS EVEN THREATENED TO SUPPRESS THIS DOMINANCE OF THE MAJORITY. WHAT IS YOUR VIEW ABOUT THIS?

ANSWER: I THINK ANY TIME A COUNTRY IS ONE COUNTRY IN 150, EVEN IF IT IS THE STRONGEST AND MOST AFFLUENT COUNTRY, THAT WE HAVE TO EXPECT TO BE OUT-VOTED FROM TIME TO TIME. I FIND MYSELF IN THAT POSITION VERY OFTEN IN THE SANETE. I THINK ANY COUNTRY DOES AND SHOULD EXPECT TO. THERE WAS A TIME OBVIOUSLY WHEN THE UNITED NATIONS WAS 50,55,56 MEMBERS, AFTER THE WAR, IN WHICH WE FOUND OURSELVES IN THE MAJORITY ALMOST ALL THE TIME WE TEND TO FIND OURSELVES NOW OFTEN IN THE MINORITY

WE OUGHT TO EXPECT, IF WE FOLLOW THE PRINCIPLES THAT WE BELIEVE IN, TO BE IN THE MINORITY ON MANY OCCASIONS. BUT I WOULD HOPE THAT WE WOULD LOOK AT FINDING OURSELVES IN A MINORITY OF FIVE OR SIX, DAY AFTER DAY ON THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES THAT WE VOTE ON, AND I HOPE THAT WE'RE GOING TO COME FORWARD, BOTH IN THIS SPECIAL SESSIONS, WITH SOME VERY POSITIVE PROPOSALS. IF WE'RE NOT PREPARED TO GO ALONG WITH PROPOSALS THAT COME FROM THE NON-ALIGNED GROUP, THAT'S FINE, BUT LET'S HAVE SOME PROPOSAL OF OUR OWN. LET'S HAVE SOME POSITIVE SOLUTION TO WHAT WE BELIEVE WE OUGHT TO DO. I'D LIKE TO SEE US IN A POSITIVE ROLE, RATHER THAN ALWAYS IN A SMALL MINORITY AND IN A NEGATIVE ROLE.

QUESTION: YOU MADE MENTION OF U.S. ARMS SALES CREDITS TO ETHIOPIA. TODAY PRESIDENT AMIN IS IN ETHIOPIA, AND ONE OF THE THINGS THEY ARE

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DISCUSSING IS MILITARY COOPERATION, WHICH IN THIS CASE PROBABLY MEANS SOME ARMS SUPPLIES TO UGANDA. THERE IS ALREADY IN UGANDA A DOZEN BELL MILITARY HELICOPTERS MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES BEING USED BY THE UGANDA MILITARY. WILL THE UNITED STATES DO ANYTHING TO TRY TO MONITOR THIS OR STOP THIS IF IT DOES OCCUR?

ANSWER: WELL I CERTAINLY HOPE SO. I DON'T KNOW THE CIRCUMSTANCE. I HAVE NOT HEARD ABOUT IT BEFORE, AND I AM RELUCTANT TO COMMENT ON IT YOU GET INTO THIS WHOLE BUSINESS OF ARMS SALES, BOTH GRANTS AND SALES, AND IT IS A DANGEROUS BUSINESS, VERY HARD TO CONTROL. WE FOUND

THAT OUT IN THE CASE OF TURKEY IN THE CYPRUS QUESTION. WE FOUND IT OUT

MANY ILLUSTRATIONS THAT WE ARE ALL AWARE OF. IT IS HARD TO CONTROL IT, PARTICULARLY AFTER ARMS SALES, ONCE YOU SELL THEM. NOW WE HAVE CERTAIN RESTRICTIONS, BUT AFTER ALL WE DON'T HAVE THE ABILITY TO GO AROUND THE MONITOR EVERY PART OF THE COUNTRY AT ALL TIMES, AND DETERMINE OTHER PEOPLE'S POLICIES. SO IT IS VERY DANGEROUS AREA. CERTAINLY WE OUGHT TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT IT.

QUESTION: IS RESALE PART OF THE RESTRICTIVE POLICIES OF THE U.S., IF YOU DO SUPPLY ARMS TO ONE COUNTRY CAN IT SELL THEM TO ANOTHER COUNTRY?

ANSWER: NO, NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE LAW...(MOOSE: UNDER U.S. LAW EVEN IF THERE IS A CASH SALE THE BUYER ASSUMES AN OBLIGATION NOT TO TRANSFER THAT WEAPON IN ANY WAY WITHOUT THE AGREEMENT OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, OR IT COULD BE DONE LEGALLY EVEN IF IT WERE A CASH SALE).

END TRANSCRIPT.
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